52:Barclay S-5 (nodate)1954 AD1 Formosa AD1

582 in full detail at each census, there are just two occasions for which satisfactory marriage rates can be found—1920 and 1935. Marriage 162 rates for these two dates are shown in Fig. 31, representing the marriages of three years averaged around the census year (i.e., 1919-21 and 1934-36).

The data of Fig. 31 pertain only to those being married for the first time, since the first marriage removes a person permanently from the unmarried. They show something less than the full extent of the changes in marriages that have already been demonstrated, for the shifting that appears in Fig. 31 is confined to half of the total period of observation. Already by 1920 women's extremely high chances of marrying before age 25 had begun to subside and those of men to rise. Even so, the persistence of this change is clearly evident in the latter half of the period. Marriage rates continued to move in opposite directions for men and for women after 1920 (though after 1920 it is less apparent for women). Taiwanese customs of marriage still allotted the better opportunities to women when young, concentrating these near age 20, while the high point in men's chances came three or four years later in life. Regardless of their differences in earlier adulthood (when most of the first marriages actually occurred), between 1920 and 1935 neither men nor women showed any tendency to defer marrying until after age 25—the rates of both sexes declined after age 30 and in the later 20's.

Widowhood and Divorce

162 Not everyone who marries stays married. In societies where mor-
589 tality is relatively severe, large proportions of spouses are likely to be separated from their partners through death. Since the mortality of Taiwanese was higher for men than for women, wives were more likely to be bereaved than husbands, and there were more widows than widowers. While every census found substantial portions of people of both sexes who had once been married but whose husbands

"legally" married persons; the ratio of the one to the other was used for "correcting" the rates based on registered (legal) marriages. This procedure leaves something to be desired; the most that can be said in its favor is that it converts into useful form data that would otherwise be useless.

The procedures of estimating nuptiality from census data were an adaptation of those discussed in Mortara, G. (1949). These figures might be suitable to use in place of the data that actually appear in the text, but for the fact that they reflect unduly the events of the census year, and thus give a poor indication of trend. The age pattern of unregistered marriages has no significance as such, for there was nothing to prevent unregistered marriages from being subsequently registered.

52:Barclay S-5 (no date)1954 AD1 Formosa AD1

or wives had died, the proportions at nearly every age were two to three times as great for women as for men (see Table 62).

TABLE 62

WIDOWS AND WIDOWERS IN TAIWAN

Per Cent of Taiwanese Men and Women Who Were Counted as Widows or Widowers in Each Census, 1905 to 1935, by Age

Age	*1905*	*1915*	*1920*	*1925*	*1930*	*1935*
			Males			
20–24	1.0	0.7	0.8	0.5	0.5	0.4
25–29	2.5	2.1	2.4	1.4	1.2	1.1
30–34	4.3	4.1	4.2	2.9	2.3	1.9
35–39	6.8	6.1	6.6	4.9	4.0	3.4
40–44	10.1	8.8	9.2	7.7	6.5	5.7
45–49	14.0	12.1	12.4	10.7	10.1	8.9
50 and over	28.6	26.3	29.8	23.1	22.2	21.3
			Females			
20–24	2.1	1.7	1.9	1.2	1.0	1.0
25–29	4.8	3.7	4.0	2.7	2.3	2.2
30–34	9.4	6.9	7.4	5.3	4.7	4.4
35–39	17.6	13.2	13.2	10.2	9.3	8.2
40–44	30.2	23.7	22.5	18.7	16.5	15.0
45–49	43.4	37.9	35.2	29.9	27.2	24.1
50 and over	72.2	71.2	69.2	65.1	61.6	57.9

Source: Tables of the Taiwanese population by age, sex and marital status in the reports of each census.

By 1935, the proportions of adult women who were widows had gradually fallen at all ages, until they were no more than half as high as they had been in 1905. The decrease in proportions of widowed men was similar, though less pronounced. Most of this decline probably arose from the fact that spouses of both sexes became less likely to die during early adulthood, thanks to improved mortality. Not all, however, can be definitely attributed to an actual decrease in widowhood, for the census recorded as widowed only those who remained in the status of widows.

Just as death of a husband or wife is a way to end a marriage, remarriage is a way out of widowhood. In the case of women it is one that is not highly regarded by Chinese tradition. A wife leaves her original family and enters that of her husband, where her status at